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The Industrial Crisis:

A Word of Advice to the Labour Leaders.

By SYLVIA PANKHURST.

Gentlemen,—You are giving away to the Capitalist all the points in the struggle between Capital and Labour. You declare, and have again and again declared, that there will be a strike, unless certain demands are conceded (pettifogging demands in every case). At the same time you loudly declare that a strike will mean Revolution, and so incite the Government to make extensive and warlike preparations to fight the strike, such as the boldest and most aggressive Capitalist Government might otherwise shrink from, lest it provoke dangerous opposition to its own continued existence. You, by your outcries and lamentations that the fate of the country is at stake and civilisation in danger, actually present as something meritorious and necessary the most ruthless attacks of the Government upon the striking workers.

Having given the Government every encouragement and opportunity to perfect its means of offence and defence against the workers, you, who are the custodians of the workers' interests make no preparations to safeguard them and to meet the Government attack. When it comes to the moment of crisis, when the Government is fully prepared, you abandon the demands you put forward for the workers, those demands to secure which you positively declared that nothing whatsoever should prevent you from striking to the bitter end.

Each time you do this the Government gains in knowledge and equipment, and becomes more able to fight the workers. If, as in the case of the late railway dispute, a strike actually comes to pass, you fight it half-heartedly, refusing to cement the forces of Labour, in order that they might be able by their combined strength to overcome the united Capitalist class, which is fighting against one isolated Labour faction.

Gentlemen, you say that this policy is due to your desire to protect the interests of all classes in the community; as a matter of fact, your policy is treachery to the working-class. Communities cannot thus be considered as a whole: we are in the midst of the class war, which knows no national boundaries and is daily growing nearer to the acute stage in this country. You cannot protect the interests of the Capitalists and also those of the workers. You must protect one class or the other. At present you are protecting and helping the Capitalists.

In framing the demands which you put forward, either humbly or bombastically, according to the temperament of the rank and file behind you and your own style of oratory, you pursue the same policy. There is no unity in the demands you put forward on behalf of the various sections of workers; you do not even see to it that the demands of the various unions shall be made at the same time, so that the pressure may be united. As far as you can, you take care that the demands shall be small and tinkering, such that if secured would by no means shake the Capitalist fabric, and even these demands you change constantly. First you are out for nationalisation—nationalisation under a Capitalist Government with Capitalist dividends paid as before. Abandoning that demand after a while, you declare for a reduction of 1½s. 2d. in the price of coal. Then, dropping that, you "insist" that the Capitalist Government shall continue to control the price of coal. Control of prices by the Capitalist Government is, of course, but a sham with which to gull the workers. The Government Controllers have in all cases fixed the prices of commodities as high as the people could be induced to pay without making serious trouble. And finally you climb down to one sole demand for 2s. a shift, or some such thing.

The Italian Contrast.

It is highly instructive for British workers that during this time when the demand for continued control of prices by a Capitalist Government have been put forward by the Miners' leaders, the Italian metal workers have been capturing the factories in which they work, and are themselves controlling the metal industry.

This lesson has not been without its effect on British workers, as you gentlemen who at present are the appointed leaders of the British Labour movement will come to discover with increasing force ere long. One of the small shopkeepers—the little proletarian shopkeepers—in that proletarian street, the Roman Road, Bow, in selling a packet of pins to a working woman, said to her across the counter: "I can't understand what Smillie is out for. There is not much to fight for in Government control. Now if he were to call the workers to seize the mines and factories as the Italians are doing, we should all be with him."

The woman answered: "Yes, that would be a bit of all right!"

Gentlemen of the Labour Party, would you not take a tip in policy from those two humble proletarians? They ask you to give them something worth fighting for, and in order to get their enthusiasm and that of their class behind you, in the long run, you will have to respond to their desires. You will respond soon, in words if not in deeds, for your present policies and demands are proving exceedingly poor flashes in the pan, and after each one goes off you suffer a serious loss in prestige.

To maintain your positions and to retard, as far as you can, the, to you, alarmingly rapid growth of unofficial industrial organisations and rival political parties, you will have to strengthen your demands in the very near future. Moreover your demands will have to be backed by action. Otherwise the unofficial and unauthorised strikes you dread so much will take the wind out of your sails and leave you altogether stranded. Such action may be upon you in a serious form at any time: it will not redound to your credit and influence, if your action is forestalled by some unofficial strike so large that you find yourselves compelled to beg and manœuvre for permission to lead it.

Henderson is Committed to Revolution.

Gentlemen, you boast that you are in command of the most powerful industrial and political combination of workers the world has ever seen, a combination that is strong enough to stop the machinery of the country at any moment. You declare that though there is this great power in your hands, our country is suffering under the most iniquitous Government it has known since "democratic" governments were created. You yourselves declare that this Government no longer represents the electorate. You yourselves protest that it muddles and mismanages the nation's affairs in every respect, that it exploits the workers, and favours the Capitalists to the point of gross corruption, and the cruel rise in rents and prices. You say that this Government has betrayed the demobilised soldiers and other workers by neglectfully abandoning them to unemployment and want. You declare that it has shamefully broken its war pledges. Your own deputation has reported on its disgraceful aggressions against the Russian Workers' Republic and its support of the Polish war. You hotly complain of the Government's infamous behaviour in Ireland, India, Egypt, and Mesopotamia.

These complaints of yours are more than justified. In every case you greatly understate the crimes of this Government, which leads all the other capitalist governments in their attack upon the workers of the world.

Yet, though you boast that you have at your command a great working-class machinery that could call a complete "check-mate" to the Government by absolutely bringing to a standstill the activities of the community, you hold your hands. You refuse to overthrow this wicked Capitalist Government of which you so bitterly complain.

Why is this? You are taking a great and terrible responsibility in allowing this Government to continue what you yourselves complain of—its exploitation of the workers at home and its murderous attacks on the workers in Ireland and abroad. Why do you do this, and thus share the Government's guilty responsibility?

Your reply used to be that a strike would not be "democratic," and would override the authority of Parliament, though you yourselves complained that the Government was habitually ignoring and overruling Parliament, and had ceased to represent the electorate. You used to protest that you could not agree to overthrow the Government by a strike, or even compel the Government to any political act by such means, because that would lead to, nay, would actually be, revolution.

So be it; but you cannot make those excuses any more. You cannot do so because you committed yourselves to the policy of the political strike, the revolutionary strike (yes, make the words as serious as you will), YOU COMMITTED YOURSELVES TO THE POLICY OF REVOLUTION WHEN YOU AGREED TO TAKE OFFICE UPON THE COUNCILS OF ACTION.

In practice, your Council of Action has been a Council of *in*-Action, in our opinion. You are fussing ineffectively about sending a delegation to Riga, to see if the British Capitalist Government is still helping the Poles against Soviet Russia. You are weakly complaining because the Government does not give permission for the deputation to go. Your Council of Action has the power to say to the Government: "Until our deputation sails, no one else shall sail to Riga, or to anywhere else from any port in this country." Your Council of Action has, moreover, neglected to set up Councils of Vigilance and Action in the ports of this country to stop at the source the flow of British aid to the Poles, or to any other counter-revolutionaries. J. H. Thomas, as chairman of the Trade Union Congress, has been permitted unrebuked to misrepresent the policy of the movement which forced you, gentlemen, reluctantly and tardily to assent to the Councils of Action. He stated at the Congress that the policy of the Councils is to secure freedom for Poland and peace with Russia. Freedom for capitalist imperialist Poland is a sham, none know it better than you, gentlemen; the movement behind the Councils is fully aware of it. The only real freedom for Poland would have been secured if the Russian Red Army had taken Warsaw and assisted the Polish workers, led by the heroic Polish Communists, who have already formed a revolutionary Council, to set up a Communist Soviet Republic. If the Councils of Action had been worthy Councils, they would have been helping to that most desirable victory, a victory which we hope will shortly be achieved.

Yes, the Council of Action is a Council of in-Action, but the principle is conceded. You have conceded the principle of the revolutionary strike, gentlemen, and, having done so for Russian workers, even under compulsion, you should do so now for British workers.

Gentlemen of the Labour Party, take the power of Government in your hands. You admit you can do it. Why do you refuse to rescue the workers from the oppressions of this iniquitous Capitalist Government?

We have no confidence in you. We do not believe you will prove better than the Coalition from the workers' standpoint. We consider Henderson no better than Lloyd George. We have this hard opinion of you, because we do not think you have the wish or the courage to overthrow the Capitalist system, and we know that attempts to reform it will prove useless. We are convinced that so long as Capitalism is allowed to remain, the Capitalists will control every Government, whatever it calls itself.

But prove yourselves, gentlemen of the Labour Party. Go in and win; you have the power to do it now. We Communists, as yet, have not, but when your policy proves too weak, our stronger one will be understood and desired by the great masses.

Some of you gentlemen of the Labour Party, most of you, perhaps all (are there any exceptions? Speak Smillie, Williams, Purcell, Bromley, Lansbury, Are any of you exceptions?), shrink from the overthrow of the capitalist Government by the strike, although you believe it can be done, and prefer to accomplish the business at a general election. But can you do it at the next general election, and how are you to bring the general election about? Are you going to wait for Lloyd George to choose his own time, and do you feel confident that you could win against the combined capitalist politicians, including the Asquithians and all the other sections? Think of their Press and yours; their powers of subtle underground influence and yours; their power of influencing men's fortunes; their motor-cars; their voluntary workers; their gigantic power of doping the workers. Do you feel sure to win? Do you even feel you have a good sporting chance?

When the last general election failed to return its Editor and directors, the "Daily Herald," with much vigour, suggested compelling another general election by means of a general strike. That seems to us like using a sledge-hammer to kill a fly, and a dead fly at that! When you launch out with the general strike, it would be childish to aim at less than creating a situation in which no party can operate a government except the party which is behind the strike? We believe that Mr. Henderson is astute enough to realise that, and we confidently expect to see the day on which King George will send for Arthur Henderson, saying: "For God's sake, Henderson, form a Government to end this strike, and save us from the mob!"

We certainly shall see that day—unless it be that Thomas is to be the King and Kingdom's chosen saviour. But that day will be the beginning of the end—of Capitalism, for neither Henderson nor Thomas can permanently save the Capitalist system.

(*Continued on page 5.*)

An Open Letter to Comrade Lenin.

From HERMAN GORTER (Holland).

[An Answer to His Pamphlet: "The Infantile Sickness of 'Leftism' in Communism."]

Dear Comrade Lenin,—I have read your letter about "Leftism" in the Communist movement, and I have learnt much from it, as from all your writings. I, like many other comrades, am grateful to you for it. It has cured some traces and germs of this childish disease, which doubtless exist within me too, and will cure them still further. Also what you say about the confusion, which has been occasioned in many brains by the revolution, is quite right. I know that. The revolution came so suddenly, and so differently to what we expected. And your writing will be a new impulse to me to make my judgment, even more than previously, on all questions of tactics, only depend upon the reality, upon the real class conditions, as they manifest themselves politically and economically. When I read your pamphlet I thought, all this is not incorrect.

But when I had thought over it for a long time, whether I could no longer support these "Left"-wingers, and would no longer be able to write articles for the German Communist Workers' Party and Sylvia Pankhurst's Party (the opposition in the English Communist Party), I had to refuse to do this.

This appears contradictory, but it is caused, Comrade, by the starting point in your pamphlet being incorrect. You do not judge rightly, as I think, the similarity of the West-European revolution with the Russian one, or the conditions of the West-European revolution, that is to say, the class relations—thereby your premise is a reversal of the foundation from which the "Left," the opposition, springs. Therefore the pamphlet *appears* to be right, if one accepts your point of departure, but if one rejects it (as one must) then the *whole pamphlet is false.* As all your pamphlet is incorrect—partially incorrect and partially absolutely so—false judgments arise out of your condemnation of the "Left" movement, especially in Germany and England; and because I, although I am not conversant with all the points of this movement, as the leaders know, am still firmly resolved to defend them, I think the best way to do it is to answer your pamphlet with a defence of the "Lefts" from their standpoint. This will give me the opportunity not only to show the principle on which they are based, their correctness and their superiority now, and to indicate it here in West-Europe at this stage, but also—and this is perhaps equally important—*to combat the inverted representation of the West-European revolution, which predominates especially in Russia.* BOTH are important, as the West-European as well as the Russian tactics depend upon your representation of the West-European revolution. I should willingly have done this at the Moscow Congress, but I was not in a position to be there.

In the first place, I must refute two of your remarks, which may deceive the judgment of the comrades and readers. You write with scorn and derision of the ludicrous, childish folly of the fight in Germany, over the "Dictatorship of the leaders or of the masses," "above or below," and so forth. That there should be no question of this we quite agree. But not with the derision; because, unfortunately, they are still questions in West-Europe. We still have in many countries of West-Europe leaders like those in the Second International; we still seek the right leaders, *who do not want to dominate the masses,* and who will not betray them, and as long as we do not have them, we want to have everything from the bottom upwards, and even through the dictatorship of the masses. If I have a mountain guide and he leads me into an abyss, I would rather not have one at all. As soon as we have the right leaders we will give up this tactics. That and nothing else is what the German and English "Lefts" and we mean by these words.

And the same thing applies to your second remark, that leaders must be absolutely united with the class and mass. We quite agree with you. Only we have to find such leaders, to educate them, to be really *one* with the masses. And they can be found and educated; the masses, the political parties and the workers can only do it by the hardest struggle, also from the inside. That comes from iron discipline and the strictest centralisation. We need these already, but only after we have the right leaders, not before. Your decision can only have a prejudicial effect. In this most difficult struggle, which is already being carried on with the greatest strenuousness in Germany and England, as well as the establishment of Communism in the neighbouring countries. *With this scorn you are playing into the hands of the opportunist elements in the Third International.* Then it is one of the expedients with which those elements in the Spartacus Union and in the B.S.P. in England, and in the Communist Parties in several other countries, who deceive the workers when they say that the whole question concerning the masses and the leaders is a foolish one, "it is foolish and childish." With this phrase they avoid, and they *want* to avoid that they, the leaders, should be criticised. They crush the opposition with this phrase of iron discipline and centralisation. You play into the hands of these opportunist elements.

Comrade, you should not do that. In West-Europe we are still in the initial stage. One should put in a good word for the fighters rather than for the rulers. But this is only incidental here. I will return to it at the end. There is a deeper reason why I cannot agree with your pamphlet. It is the following:—

When we West-European Marxists read your pamphlets, essays and books, there comes a point in the midst of the admiration and the assent which your writings nearly always had from us, at which as we read, we suddenly become cautious, some points about which we expected more explicit explanations, which, when we did not find them, and on thinking them over afterwards, we only accepted them with the greatest reserve. It was so when you spoke of the workers and *the poor peasants.* You do that very, very often, and throughout you speak of these two categories as revolutionary factors in the whole world. And nowhere, at least as far as I have read, do you emphasise the very great difference that exists on this question between Russia (and a few East-European countries) and West-Europe (that is Germany, France, England, Belgium, Holland, and the Scandinavian countries, and perhaps even Italy). And yet, in my opinion, the basis of the difference of your comprehension of the tactics in the industrial and parliamentary questions and those of the so-called "Lefts" in West-Europe, lies in the difference between Russia and West-Europe in this matter.

Naturally, you know as well as I do this difference, but you have not drawn the conclusions for the tactics in West-Europe from it, at least not so far as I have read your works. You have left these inferences out of account, and therefore your judgment of the West-European tactics is false. This was and is so much more dangerous, because everywhere in West-Europe your report will be babbled, even by Marxists. And it makes it appear in all the Communist newspapers, magazines and pamphlets, and in public meetings, as if a revolt of the poor peasants in West-Europe were imminent. The great difference with Russia will not be pointed out. Thereby the judgment of the proletariat, too, will be deceived. Because in Russia you had a mighty class of poor peasants, with whose help you conquered, you represent it as if we in West-Europe would also have their assistance. Because you in Russia *only* won with their help, you make it appear as if here it is also only with their assistance that we shall win. By your silence on this question, of how the matter stands in West-Europe, you present it in this way, and your whole tactics is derived from this representation.

But this representation is not the truth. There is a tremendous difference between Russia and West-Europe. Generally the sign of the poor peasants being a revolutionary factor becomes even less going from East to West. In parts of Asia, China, and India, when revolutions broke out there, these classes certainly turned the scale; in Russia they formed an absolutely indispensable, a deciding factor; in Poland and the Middle-European States they are still distinctly *for* the revolution, but the further West one goes, so do they become more hostile towards the revolution.

(To be continued.)

INTERNATIONAL NOTES.

RUSSIA.

Heroism of the Red Ukrainians.

Moscow, 9th September.—The Red garrison of Ekaterinenburg has demanded to be sent as soon as possible to the Wrangel front. Similar desires have been expressed in many other districts and towns. The peasants in Berdichev have resolved not to allow any deserters in the villages, and to support the Red Army with food, clothing and horses. The Central Committee of the Ukrainian Young Communists have already mobilised 2,000 of their membership for the Southern front. Many Communist groups have decided—on the appeal of the Central Committee of the Communist Party—to mobilise 50 per cent. of their members.

Oriental Communist Congress in Baku.

Moscow, September 8th.—The Second Conference of the peoples of the East was opened on September 2nd in Baku. Present were Zinoviev, Radek, Bela Kun and representatives of the Western European Communists.

Another Italian Delegation to Russia.

Moscow, September 5th.—An Italian delegation arrived at Moscow on September 4th. It represented both the Italian Socialist Party and the Italian Trades Unions.

Professional Training for Soviet Officials.

Moscow, 10th September.—"Isvestia" writes:—Increased efficiency of the million army of Soviet officials is much needed. The bureaucracy and the formalities which are now prominent in many Soviet officers must be checked. Practical steps must be taken at once to increase the political and professional consciousness of the vast bulk of Soviet officials. This idea has already been taken up by the Central Council of the Soviet Officials' Trades Union. Training courses for Soviet work will be opened this autumn in four of the biggest Russian towns. The courses are calculated to last for five months. They are divided into a compulsory section, where the students get a general social-political education, and special courses, *e.g.* book-keeping, statistics, shorthand. For active workers inside Party groups and Trades Unions, the courses will be shorter, in order to enable them to carry on their ordinary work at the same time. All the students will receive the highest food ration. At the same time a number of the students will be selected as instructors for the provinces. The introduction of this will be very important for the development of Communist organisation of administration.

Propaganda by Gramophone.

Gramophones are distributed all over Soviet Russia with a certain number of records of the speeches by the most prominent political leaders. On them one can hear Lenin, Trotsky, Kameneff, Lunatscharsky, Bukharin, and others. Some records give recitations of poems written by proletarian poets. The "Soviet records," as they are called, create a tremendous interest and enthusiasm, especially at the front and in the remotest provincial villages.—Rosta and Social Democraten Telegraphic Bureau in Christiana.

The Italian Metal Workers.

On September 10th the representatives of the Italian General Confederation of Labour, the Socialist Party, the Parliamentary section of the Agricultural Workers, etc., held a Conference at which D,Aragona, the leader of the metal-workers, said that the G.C.L. and the Socialist Party were working in the closest accord. There were three solutions before them:— (1) To restrict the agitation to the metal-workers; (2) to include all the Italian workers in the struggle to obtain control of the factories; or (3) to have a revolution. The strike started with a demand for increased wages, but that was no longer the question. They had to consider the control of the factories by the workers with a double aim: the preparation of the workers for collective control, and socialisation. This control must be extended, and factory committees set up throughout Italy, in all the Unions. "That does not mean," he added, "that the relations between capital and labour will be modified in any way, but the Councils will be the weapons of the Italian proletariat." He did not think the time had arrived to place the whole power in the hands of the Socialist Party. As long as the workers were fighting for the Councils, the movement was in the hands of the G.C.L. When it was a question of seizing the power, it would be handed over to the Party.

Schiavello moved that the movement should be placed in the hands of the Party. Modigliani said that there was no division between the G.C.L. and the Party. The situation was so revolutionary that they must be prepared for everything, since the movement would be controlled either by the Party or the G.C.L. He would like to see a fusion between the two committees so that they would work together with full powers. Donati wished the movement to state its political character, and that was why he wished it to be controlled by the Socialist Party. D'Aragona said he agreed with Modigliani. There were no differences of principle between the G.C.L. and the Party, but they differed on tactics. The principles were contained in the ideal which the Third International represents to the proletariat of the world. If they decided to give the control to the Party, all the forces of the proletariat would be placed at its disposal and he would be the first to collaborate in the revolution.

Schiavello's resolution was lost by 409,569 to 591,245 votes. There were 93,623 abstentions. The resolution of the G.C.L., which was carried, recognised that the motive of the struggle rests upon the intransitive industrialists. It considered that the extension and importance of the movement has annulled the memorandum presented by the metal-workers, that no solution is possible on the competitive field, and that the historic moment does not allow of relationships at present between the employers and the workers. It approved of the discussions at Milan and the compact concluded between the G.C.L. and the Socialist Party; it declares its readiness to put it into effect and confides the movement to the collaboration of the G.C.L. and the Socialist Party. It recognises the object of the struggle to be the recognition of the Council system by the employers, understanding by that the opening of the road to greater conquests, which will inevitably lead the proletariat to collective control and to socialisation, in order to solve the problem of production.

It calls upon the metal-workers to retain with all their strength the positions they have gained. It calls upon every organisation to stand by the metal-workers and to give them financial aid according to the proportions laid down by the G.C.L. All organisations which do not observe the strictest discipline towards the decisions of the Committee of the G.C.L. will be regarded as traitors.

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The Working Woman, the Peasant Woman, and the Soviet Power.

By G. ZINOVIEV.

A Speech by Comrade G. Zinoviev at the Congress of Working and Peasant Women of the Northern Communes.

Published by the Petrograd Soviet of Workers and Red Army Delegates in 1919.

(Continued from last week).

The End Worthy of the Beginning.

A few days ago, there was opened in Paris, the capital of France, the so-called Peace Conference, namely, an assembly of Ministers, the representatives of various governments, who maintain that their object is—to give eternal peace to their peoples. But all their Governments are bourgeois, and the chief boss of the assembly is President Wilson. He calls himself President of the American people and a democrat, viz., a believer in the rights of peoples. But in reality, he is only the nominee of the big American capitalists, the kings of finance. The French Minister, Clemenceau, has been elected President of this so-called Peace Conference. He also calls himself a democrat, and claims to speak in the name of the entire French people. In reality, Clémenceau speaks only in the name of a group of bankers and landowners; he is a bourgeois and has been elected by the bourgeoisie. The French workers and class-conscious peasants call this Clémenceau "tiger"; in appearance he is somewhat like a tiger, but what is more to the point, for the last thirty years he has been like a tiger, sucking the life-blood out of the peasants and workers, and has been one of the most eminent representatives of the French landowners and bankers. It was he who compelled the French people to wage war for several years, and who annihilated one half of the adult peasants of France. It is thanks to him that one seldom meets healthy young men in the French villages, and that the majority of the male population consists of old men and cripples. Well, it is this Minister Clémenceau who is the President of this Peace Conference.

Russia has also been invited to send representatives but our Government of workers and peasants has been ignored, and Admiral Koltchak, General Dutov and Col. Denikin have been recognised as the "legitimate" representatives of Russia. These names are quite familiar to you. These robbers have assumed power in various towns of Southern and Eastern Russia. They have also succeeded, with the support of a group of officers, Cossacks and deluded soldiers, in seizing several provinces and maintaining themselves there for several months. It is true that the workers and peasants are clearing them out quite successfully, but in some districts they are still masters. At the Paris Peace Conference, members of Dutov's, Koltchak's, and Denikin's hordes are welcome guests. The bourgeois Ministers have invited Denikin and Co. to join them as your representatives. Comrades, this fact alone is sufficient to show you what kind of people have assembled in Paris. Just as Dutov, Denikin, and Koltchak are not really your representatives, so is also Clémenceau not the representative of the workers and peasants of France. Who among the workers and peasants has elected those robbers—Dutov, Denikin, and Koltchak? No one! And yet they will sit at the Conference and will pompously assert that they are the representatives of Russia. The same may be said about Wilson, Clémenceau and the rest of the gang assembled in Paris. They call themselves the representatives of France, America, England, etc., of millions of people, and yet they are only the nominees, agents and clerks of bankers and landowners! And these gentry are supposed to make peace between the peoples!

Where the Robbers Meet, and What They Are Afraid Of.

It is extremely difficult to find a town in Europe where bourgeois representatives would feel quite at home. Petrograd is no place for them, as it is the meeting place of working men and working women. Berlin was suggested, but had to be abandoned because the risings of the Berlin workers were making it unsafe ground for the bourgeoisie, who object to the cry "Down with capitalism," and to barricade fighting. Vienna is a large town and was the seat of the 1815 Peace Conference, when kings, princes, their wives and concubines, stock-exchange magnates, in fact the flower of the bourgeois world gathered there. Vienna seemed alluring at first, but on second thoughts, it was also tabooed, for the air was not clear enough there for the bourgeoisie; a revolution was taking place, and Communists were at work. The Vienna workers had dispersed the Constituent Assembly, and the English, French, and all other bourgeoisies cannot stand being dispersed by workers. So the Peace Conference did not meet in Vienna.

Rome was also suggested, the capital of Italy and a magnificent historic city, but the atmosphere of Rome also proved too hot; for the workers of Italy dislike the bourgeoisie as much as we do. At the beginning of the war, Italian peasants and working women threw themselves across the railway lines in front of the trains, crying: "Let the carriages go over our dead bodies, we won't let our men go! The war is ruining Italy!"

In Italy also the revolution is developing and spreading, and Rome was therefore not a fit meeting place for the Peace Conference. Paris was finally chosen as the safest available place.

It was at first intended to turn the opening of the Peace Conference into a big gala with processions of kings who were to be enthusiastically greeted in the streets of Paris by the masses, having in the course of four years destroyed 15 millions of the world's population. It is rumoured that this grandiose plan had to be abandoned owing to the rapid decrease in crowned heads, and thus the French workers were deprived of such a truly ridiculous pageant. The representatives of the bourgeoisie are compelled to carry on their performance within the seclusion of four walls, but in order to make some sort of a show, they have imported a Chinaman, some Montenegrins, Serbs, Belgians, etc., and maintain that the entire world is represented, and that they will bring about the reconciliation of all the peoples. What an abominable game of pretence, what a shameful masquerade! It is not the peoples' representatives who are assembled in Versailles, but those monsters, who, for four years forced the nations to fight, and whom the people hate, curse, and meet with loathing, as we used to meet our Tsars when they were polluting the atmosphere of our streets

Why They Want Peace, and the Kind of Peace They Want.

Well, comrades, this assembly of kings and their buffoons of Ministers, consisting of 25 persons, arrogates to itself the right to settle the fate of the world. They have provided themselves with a world map, have spread it out on the table in front of them, and are bargaining.

"We shall portion out for you a million or so acres of territory; you shall have some land in Africa, but you will give me some in Asia; I will help you to get 20 milliards indemnity from the Germans, and will myself rob another people, and then we shall be quits."

Just as the "tsigane" (gypsies), bargain with horses, these gentry are bargaining with entire nations. Because they wear uniforms and have adorned themselves with "Brummagem" orders and medals, they imagine that they are really and truly the lords of creation, that all shall be as they desire, and that all the peoples will submit to the will of these 25 persons, and kneeling down, will say: "God bless you. Your will be done."

This is what happened a hundred years ago—in 1815, after a long period of wars. The nations were lying at the feet of the rulers, bleeding and exhausted, and they treated them as if they were cattle. A number of nations were ruthlessly partitioned. This was done with the Bulgarian people, who are our kin, and the process was very simple. A Minister dipped his quill into red ink, and Bulgaria, a live people, was cut into three parts. For several decades, the Bulgarian people lived in that state The separate parts were drawn to each other in an irresitible longing to form one body, but the bourgeoisie would not let them. They wanted to parcel out Bulgaria in order to suck her life-blood in three different sections.

Now they have the same plans with Russia. In the Cabinets of Europe, they have portioned out Russia as follows: Odessa, if you please, with adjacent towns is to go to the French . That there are no French in Odessa, but that the inhabitants are Russians, is merely a detail, and the French will rule over them. And Ekaterinoslav and the Donetz basin will belong to England. No one there knows the English language, no one recognises the English King, and every one hates the English bourgeoisie with an undying hatred, nevertheless, the people there are to be put under the English. The bourgeoisie imagines that just as Bulgaria was partitioned in 1815, so Russia will be partitioned to-day.

One part will be given to France, another to England, Siberia to Japan, and the North with Archangel, also to the English. They imagine that whatever they put down on paper is sacrosanct.

There is Danger in Dividing the Bear's Skin Too Soon.

However, much water, and much blood too, has flowed since 1815; more than a hundred years have elapsed. After the destruction of 15 million lives, and when nearly the whole of Europe is starving, when all nations are ruined and there are risings everywhere, the ruling classes will not find it an easy task to enslave peoples and to enforce their will on the nations of the world, and especially to make Russia bow down at their command. Moreover, the ruling classes do not feel very safe themselves; dark clouds are gathering over their heads. I have already mentioned how difficult it has been to select a safe meeting-place for the Peace Conference. Even in Paris, which seemed to them quite safe, there are risks of explosions, for the French workers, peasants and soldiers hate the bourgeoisie.

The French workers and peasants have conquered the Germans, but it is the French bourgeoisie which is celebrating this victory of plundering Germany. But have the French workers and peasants grown any richer on account of it? No, they have grown poorer, because the French required a big army in order to beat Germany, and an army costs hundreds of milliards of roubles. When the ruling classes want money, you will not catch them putting their hands into their own pockets. It is so much easier to get it from the workers and peasants. Whom do they send to fight? Do many of them go themselves? Certainly not, for fighting is not their profession. Their profession is—to profiteer, to collect big dividends, to sit in a comfortable chair in a bank or office. In their opinion, to fight, to starve and to rot in the trenches is the profession of the workers and peasants. The gains of the French workers from that victory are—more sacrifices, more ruin, fresh taxation and short commons. That is why they are hating their bourgeoisie which is sitting on a volcano. That is why the French workers may rise any day.

We are pointing out to these gentlemen that they will not succeed in repeating the performance of 1815, that the people have changed and have learned a lesson, and that they will have a reckoning with them for the blood-letting which lasted four and a half years!

I am convinced that this mockery, which is even worse than war, will come to an end soon. During the war people did not think or reason, and no one could understand what was really going on. But after a four and a half years' war, people begin to see clearly, and they realise that they had been living in a madhouse, nay, in hell itself. For four and a half years they have been cutting each other's throats and a gang of financiers ruled and settled all the affairs.

But is not what is happening now a new insult to the peoples of the world? For four and a half years the peasants have not been able to till their land and have had to fight each other, and in the end, 20 odd bankers, Ministers and such like, come together in order to settle the fate of millions of people! Surely, this is mocking and insulting the people with a vengeance! (loud applause).

Comrades, although they are sitting in their Chamber in comparative safety, they cannot help wondering, in view of what is taking place in the world, how long the French and other peoples will tolerate being thus mocked. The worse they act, and the more they outrage the feelings of the common people, the better it will be for us, because then, even the most backward peasants will have to realise at last that they have been sold and betrayed. Then they will make short work of their rulers, and will throw them on to the rubbish heap, which is the proper place for them. (Prolonged applause)

(To be continued).

RIO-TINTO MINES.

To the British worker, the rich mines of Southern Spain are only known by the few lines which the Press dedicates to them during some tragic strike. To the city magnates they are well known by the bonus and dividends which they bring to them. The mines contain one of the greatest masses of copper in the world, and it is calculated that they could supply the needs of Europe for the next 2,000 years. They are situated in very luxuriant wild woods, which are sparsely inhabited compared with their extent; before the arrival of the colonisers, the population was very healthy and strong.

Great numbers of different kinds of animals reproduce themselves without any other aid but nature. Fruitful trees, much timber, and other rich products, including cork, are to be found there. The colonisers in a few years left a large expanse of waste country, caused by the fumes from the burning minerals, which was done in the open air.

The robust farmers, having seen their land demolished, had no other alternative but to come and lose their lives in a place 240 to 3,000 feet below the surface. There were not sufficient human beings in that particular region to be exploited, so they thought it necessary to go to the North of Spain and the North of Portugal to find more. Thousands of young men, every day for half a century, have left some members of their body or their lives under tons of minerals. (It is calculated that one man is killed and several injured every day.)

During 50 years the town corporation and other governmental machinery were ruled by the succeeding directors of the mines. Beside the State police force, the colonisers had a private one, and in case of a protest, there was prison, deportation, or death, which are always used to silence it. The colonisers, too, have had some victims; more than one director has fallen by the clasp-knife of a slave. On the 11th of January, 1888, a mass of people, numbering a few thousands, were fired upon; the number of deaths is unknown, but a few years later human skeletons were found amongst some rubbish.

Three months ago, 17,000 workers began a great battle with their oppressors, and the whole nation stood by the workers; their wives and children were distributed throughout the country, and to-day it is a pride to have a Rio-Tinto rebel as a guest. The workers' societies of all colours, and even the technical employers, some of them British, have seconded the movement. Here in the City to-day you see perturbed faces, and something like fear is noticeable in the London Council of Directors.

The Mayor and Corporation, which has thrown off the yoke, are Socialists, so that you see the workers are ready to conquer—and they will. W. Browning, the present director, will be included in the history of the Twentieth Century with the great men that have colonised the Belgian Congo, the German Cameroons, Egypt, India, Mesopotamia and Ireland. A region of 100,000 inhabitants in a friendly country, subjected to the most criminal slavery, is the most shameful thing done by a constitutional government, and the most insolent trampling upon workers which has been committed in history, under the cloak of commerce.

Great happenings are not far distant. Who knows if the awakening of these slaves will not be the spark that will end this cowardly State, and the shareholders of Rio-Tinto will go and exchange impressions with the shareholders of the Russian mines.

The British worker must not forget those who are fighting for their freedom and the cause of the workers of the world.

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A CALL FROM THE THIRD INTERNATIONAL.

Comrades,—

The Executive of the Third International has called British Communists to convene another Conference to form one Communist Party for Britain, within four months of the return of the British delegates to the Second Conference of the Third International.

A Committee which is to consist of representatives of the first Communist Party, the so-called United Communist Party (B.S.P.), the National Shop Stewards' and Workers' Committee Movement, the Scottish Workers' Committee, the Welsh Communists and Industrial Reform Movement, the S.L.P. and the Left Wing of the I.L.P. is to undertake the arrangements for the calling of the Conference, and any other Communist groups desirous of joining may apply for representation. At the Conference, the various parties are to be represented according to their numbers.

The basis of discussion at the Conference is the thesis of Zinoviev on the principles and functions of the Communist Party, which was adopted by the Second Conference of the Third International in Moscow.

It is greatly to be regretted that in view of the forthcoming Manchester Conference of our Party, this thesis and others are not in the hands of our members, in order that the delegates at the Conference might have been fully instructd thereon. Indeed, I had hoped that the material in question might have arrived here already. We hope that the thesis will be ready for the delegates when the Conference meets on September 25th and 26th. The points in the thesis have in the main been at some time discussed amongst us, though some have been dealt with as yet in much too superficial a manner. It is important that the entire thesis should be studied and discussed, with the deepest and most patient consideration.

We are moving onward toward the revolution; the tasks which that will bring to all Communists are enormous. The tasks of discipline and construction which will follow after the first overthrow of the capitalist government will be infinitely greater than those which preceded it.

The present work of building a Communist Party able to cope with these tasks is no light matter of words and resolutions, but one which demands all our keenest and best energies and hardest efforts. The experience of those who have already created in Russia a Communist Party, which has carried through the Revolution, and have maintained it against an entire world of capitalism; the experience of the Hungarian Party, which established a Soviet Republic, and saw it, for the time being, overthrown by the reaction; the experience of the Finns and the Germans who also have wrestled long and desperately with the capitalist power, whilst we have scarcely yet reached the brink of the contest; all these must be studied and used by us. The combined decisions of all these and others, call for our very serious study.

Our Party has been received into the Third International. As your delegate, I was present at the Conference and was given the rights accorded to the delegates of other Parties, although circumstances over which I had no control, caused me to arrive very near to the end of the Conference. We are part of the Third International, its decisions are of tremendous importance to us, especially as we must realise that an International can only be an International of action (just as a national party can only be a party of action), if its decisions are obeyed by its component parts.

The fact that in some respects the tactical policy of the thesis (though not its essential object and theory), differs from what has been our own, lends great responsibility to our Party's discussion of the thesis. It may be that the Manchester Conference will not be able fully to consider all the questions involved; an adjourned Conference may prove necessary for certain questions. But it will undoubtedly prove possible to make considerable progress in the discussion of the fundamental theories on which our Party must be based, and the work that lies before us.

E. SYLVIA PANKHURST.

WHAT ARE WE?

In his article in last week's *Dreadnought*, Comrade Whitehead shows an astonishing and dangerous confusion about the Communist position as regards industrialists and industrialism. The people "behind *The Worker*, behind *Solidarity*, inside B.W.I.U. and kindred organisations, throughout the Shop Steward and Workers' Committee movements, the Miners' Unofficial Reform Committees"—all these are Industrialists. They are entirely, or mainly, concerned with Industrial Unionism and Industrial Revolutionary Organisation. That is a very important work, bat these comrades still lack, many of them deliberately, an all-round political outlook. They despise "politics." Now, Comrade Whitehead says that a Communist Party must be dominated by those elements—and he apparently means, in their capacity of Industrialists. There he is absolutely wrong in fundamental Communist principles. A Communist Party must be dominated entirely by rigid, all-round Communists, and its policy must be directed by pure and simple Communism, with all that it means and involves.

Communism can be understood and applied in two ways. By scientific knowledge (Marxism), of social and historical factors. Or by the conscious and trained class instinct of the most exploited proletarians, who have recognised and accepted the Communist doctrines as the only authority. The Communist Manifesto, written 72 years ago, by Marx and Engels, puts it:

> The Communists, therefore, are on the one hand, practically, the most advanced and resolute section of the working class parties of every country, that section which pushes forward all others; on the other hand, theoretically, they have over the great mass of the proletariat, the advantage of clearly understanding the line of march, the conditions, and *the ultimate general results* of the proletarian movement. (Italics are ours).

How do we Communists to-day conceive the ultimate general results of the proletarian movement? And what is our task as a whole? It is to break up and destroy the capitalist and bourgeois states all over the world. All their economic, financial, administrative, legislative, military, educational, moral, ecclesiastical and national institutions—all the apparatus of the bourgeois-oppressor state. The most powerful weapons, by which we succeed in the final stage, when bourgeois society is sufficiently undermined by its own inherent destructive contrarieties, and by our propaganda and sabotage activities, are the general strike and armed insurrection. But when we are so far, when we have outwardly smashed the present oppressor-state, we are not yet half-way. We shall have to "make the Revolution permanent." That means that we shall have to build up a new state, *the proletarian-oppressor state*, which is the organ of the "permanent Revolution." On the one hand it will have to suppress and persecute the remnants of the bourgeoisie, until the entire bourgeoisie and most of its relics in spirit and institutions have succumbed. On the other hand it—or the International Soviet Republic—will have to build up and unify the Communist system of production on an international, or rather a planetarian scale—which ultimately secures the impossibility of further exploitation, oppression and wars, and makes them unnecessary.

This tremendous business which is shortly called "the dictatorship of the proletariat," is calculated to take a considerable time—several decades at least. And it means that we must have a definite conception and programme of action for every one of the problems inherent in the present state of things—and a few more which will arise later. This cannot be done by one-sided industrialists and workshop organisation alone. This job must be *led* and accomplished by a tremendously strong political party. If we are not going to fail, and that would mean the annihilation more or less of so-called Western civilisation, without anything to replace it, this Party has to be created somehow, with an economic and industrial programme, including agricultural relations, as well as an administrative (Soviets), military, educational and (mark well, comrades of this Empire!), a National, Colonial and international programme. As far as we can, we must use the most destructive methods and tactics against the respective bourgeois and capitalist institutions, and just as we do this, so far must we be able to draw up the outlines of a constructive programme for our actions after the actual revolution

It is said that the British proletariat is the least internationally minded on earth. And it is true. Yet the heaviest international responsibilities rest upon us. Not only do the British Army and Navy now run riot and massacre other people, workers and proletarians, all over the world, without us trying to do very much more to stop it than talk; but as the proletariat of an Imperialist "Motherland," we have responsibilities of first importance towards the proletariats of all the Dominions and Colonies. This, not because it is nice and idealistic to believe in "international brotherhood," but because it is a hard political, and later on even more, an *economic necessity* to organise and act in direct contact with these exploited peoples. Only together with the revolutionary forces of Ireland, India, Egypt, Asia Minor and so on, shall we be able to break up the Empire—our big enemy. Only by trying to influence and even trying to keep the leadership over them, can we prevent them from developing into mere bourgeois-nationalist revolutions, and later, from turning into the enemies of the British Communist Revolution, in the same way as the border states of the former Russian Empire did towards the Bolshevik Revolution. Only by keeping in closest touch with the revolutionary proletarians in the Dominions, will it be possible to make their productive wealth straightaway the foundation stones of the planetarian Communist economic system, when once the battle is here at home in the British Isles.

That kind of Internationalism means once more active *politics*, Communist Party politics.

No, the industrialists, with their ideology, as we know them to-day in this country, are not enough. They are not altogether Communists, and only 100 per cent. Communists can grapple with a task like the one outlined above. Have we got any 100 per cent. Communists in this country? No. None. Let us admit that. The lack of simple success that characterises the would-be-Communist organisations all shows there is something fundamentally wrong with them. It is no use talking about "vast majorities" of this or that kind of "true proletarians" as Whitehead does. It is ridiculous. There are a few scattered hundreds here and there—that is all. The sincere Shop Steward delegate, who told Lenin at the Moscow Congress, that the Communist movement in Britain was "practically a joke," is only too right.

We have to make Communists. Ourselves first. That will not be done either by weak-backed, would-be-respectables of Maiden Lane, who are busy fraternising with well-fed "fakirs" of Bob Williams' and Hease's type, and petty intellectualists like Robert Dell. Nor by ourselves running away with middle-class anarchists and extemporising about parties and "seven points" (even Wilson, the poor devil, had fourteen!). Nor by "only industrialism," with pit- and shop-committees, and patent "abstentionism" on all other fields.

There are no shortcuts or tricks. We have still all to *become Communists*, and perhaps then it will be just the Industrialists of to-day who will become the best ones. They have men, they have spirit.

Yet we need so many things. We need clearness of theory and principle. Let us then study, and study profoundly, and not always extemporise. We need discipline, frames of steel in our organisation; and, above all, in our minds and thoughts! Let us harden ourselves, harden and train. Look at the Bolsheviks! We must become at once *visionary* and *devilish*, as they are. Dare everything, endure everything—all the time keeping our heads cool and calculating. Demand the "impossible" of ourselves and others. That is a hard and long road, but we cannot go by a shorter one. Then there will be some hope of "letting the ruling classes tremble at a Communist revolution."

Then we shall be able to carry out a merciless war against all Opportunists. Then we can go out into the lime-light of every burning crisis and shout out the brazen Communist criticism on everything; and shout so that the masses hear it. Then we can fall in and show the way for every destructive force now inherent in the British Empire, the Big Enemy. Then we can make the Revolution—on the eve of which we already live

In a later article, I will deal with some of our sacred tactics, from a Communist viewpoint. Meanwhile, I hope the Manchester Conference will do something towards bringing together the Communist Labour Party (of Scotland) and our own Party—with the aim of *making* real Communists in this country, and of uniting them.

H. RUBINSTEIN.

To Revolutionary Communist Groups.

Communist Party

(British Section of the Third International)

Conference.

Gore Brook Hall, Gorton, Manchester, SATURDAY and SUNDAY, September 25th and 26th.

Delegates from the Communist Party Branches and all revolutionary Communist Groups are invited. Notify the Secretary stating the strength of the Branch or Group for a card vote.

E. T. WHITEHEAD.
8, Sinclair Gardens, London, W.6.

With the Red Navy in the Baltic.

By S. 000 (Gunner), H.M.S. "LUCIE."

When it became known that a number of us would be selected for duty in Russian waters, I wondered if I should be among the lot; for I was seized with a strange desire to go. I was not displeased, therefore, when I was one of the 30 chosen for the spare submarine boat crew to do service in the Baltic. We left Rosyth in September of 1915 and proceeded to Archangel, whence we entrained for Petrograd. From there we went to Reval for submarine duty, and all through 1916 we served in Russian waters. The first parent ship to which we were attached was the "Rendi," but after a few weeks we were transferred to the "Dwina." This ship played a great part in the first revolution of 1905. It was then called the "Azoba." The lower deck had secretly decided to go over to the revolutionaries, but at the critical moment the leaders were betrayed by one of their number. They were all hanged, and the traitor was decorated by the Czar and made an officer on the ship, whose name was changed to the "Dwina."

I have always hated the service, although I still remain in the Navy. The call of the sea, when one gets accustomed to it, is irresistable, but the restrictions placed upon the lower deck are almost unbearable. It is not so much the big but rather the little things that jar on us. Sometimes we steam into a big port after working willingly all day, all of us intent on going ashore that night. After the mess we dress and make ready to go out, when suddenly up goes the notice: "No shore leave tonight." No explanation is given; it is just an order from above that must be obeyed. We curse and swear, for we know that the officers are all going ashore, while we must remain on board. But I was amazed when I came in contact with the Russian sailors to know the kind of conditions that they worked under. Our grievances were as nothing in comparison to theirs. No sailor could enter a café, theatre, or any public place where there was an officer, without first obtaining the latter's permission. Sailors could not smoke in the street, and a group of men, walking together, upon meeting an officer, had to draw up alongside the street at the salute until the officer had passed. I saw some of the most revolting cases of official cruelty practised upon the men. And I never yet saw men so patient, so quiet, so strangely loveable, in spite of all the injustice. I grew to love the Russians. I spent my spare time learning the language, and the men were eager to help me. I proudly considered myself a good student. I was the only one of the English crew that could read the Russian newspapers. I loved the language, too; it was more expressive than my own, having a closer relationship to visual objects.

For months we were engaged in submarine patrol duty round Liban and Windau, Reval and Riga. We torpedoed three German men-o'-war and captured and sank some merchantmen. We were resting at Reval when the March Revolution took place. I never knew what was happening, and even now when I look back to that period it seems that only natural things were going on. We had tea at 4 o'clock, and I went ashore alone to visit some friends. As I was passing through the main street I saw big crowds ahead standing outside the great prison, which was burning. All the prisoners were free. I inquired what it was all about, and some happy citizens answered: "Freedom, freedom!" I felt the new freedom in my blood likewise, and I kept moving among the crowds, going from street to street. I wanted to understand what was this Revolution. In some places the people were singing revolutionary songs, and others were making speeches. All the records were taken from the intelligence offices and police-stations, and burnt. The crowds were so orderly—there was no rioting, no looting, although there was not a policeman to be seen anywhere. There were several patrols of two soldiers and one civilian wearing a white armlet doing duty in the city. When I went down to the Law Courts, the buildings were burning, and so were all the other prisons in the city. I asked a few of the happy spectators what they thought of it; they answered: "Good, good."

I returned to my ship about 11.30 that night, was challenged in the usual way, and went to my quarters. When I woke up in the morning the old order on board had changed. The sailors were in charge: the rifle racks, rifles and ammunition were removed from aft to forward. The captain, chief engineer, and the paymaster (a big scoundrel who robbed both Russian and English sailors) were ordered off the ship. One young officer and three warrant officers were retained to work under the direction of the Sailors' Council. Duties were carried out in the same way, but the discipline was better. There was a fine ceremony on board the "Dwina," which was now renamed "Remember the Azoba," to commemorate the sad incident of the 1905 Revolution. The sailor who had betrayed his comrades was disgraced. He was stripped of his epaulets, decoration, and gold watch and chain, dressed in canvass clothes, spat upon and driven from the ship. I wondered that the men could treat him so tenderly. My first thought was that they should have hanged him.

The English officers and men still worked in co-operation with the Russians. When Kerensky became Premier he came down to Reval (I think it was in September) to visit the Fleet, and he made a fighting speech on board our ship. Then the October Revolution was accomplished, and for a time we were at a loss what to do. Our officers could get no definite orders from the Government. There were rumours of a counter-revolution, and our crew decided that we could not fight the Russians. I put it to them, and they agreed, that if the Russians wanted any sort of a Revolution they should have it, and we would not interfere. We knew from experience that it was a necessity. Our parent ship turned completely red, both officers and men, but in the Main Fleet many of the officers now became counter-revolutionary, and they were killed and pushed through the ice. I remember that one of our English captains did not want to appear before the sailors' court for some misdemeanour; he was very insolent. Later on he left to join the British Embassy in Moscow. There he was detected carrying on counter-revolutionary activities, and executed as a spy. I cannot mention his name. Of course, it cannot be gainsaid that many officers who were notorious for their brutality to the men were murdered during the Red Revolution by individual sailors who had suffered on their account. But this is quite natural, and no Navy or Army in the world will be immune from such painful incidents. What struck me forcibly about the Russians was their splendid spirit of tolerance and forgiveness.

Our crew was ordered to Hango, and we made our base there. When the German Baltic Fleet reached Reval we blew up our boats and withdrew to Helsingfors. Early in 1918 we were ordered back to England. I left Finland a sworn enemy of the Imperial and Capitalist system and a good Bolshevik. I have many comrades in Russia, but I cannot hear from them on account of the blockade.

SHAME ON SUCH LEADERS.

Notwithstanding the pledge given at the Seamen's Conference at Brussels that no munitions or war material shall be transported, they are still being loaded and shipped to Poland from Antwerp.

The Communist Party took the matter up from the very beginning and informed the Transport Union officials of what was taking place, and drew their attention to the seriousness of the case, which they acknowledged, but said that it was difficult to prevent it.

Our delegates pointed out the means to stop it, and Schonkeren of the Seamen's Union, said: "All right, but what about the 40 men on board, who ought to be supported?"

This proves the miserable mentality and worthlessness of these International officials, who are more interested in the Union's banking account than in the lives of thousands of comrades, who will probably be killed with these very munitions and engines of war. But worst of all, after receiving this reply, one of our delegates went back to the General Secretary, Chippel, a man of considerable influence, and asked him what he was going to do. Chippel, realising his awkward position in front of a Communist, turned him out of his office, saying that he had nothing to do with Communists. But we can assure you, dear comrades, that he will have to do with them, and we send you this protest for a start, against their selfishness and uninternational conduct.

Here we have a fresh example of what Governments and so-called Social-democratic leaders are. They contend that the Belgian Government is neutral in the Russo-Polish conflict, but meantime, thousands upon thousands of munition boxes are being made in the Antwerp Arsenal, a Government institution, and munitions are still being transported on Government railroads, by Government employees. Huysmans says that the Government knows nothing of this, which is either gross ignorance or hypocrisy. If it is ignorance, of what use is a Government controlled by interested people behind it, who do as they like? If it is hypocrisy, then down with such people and such an institution. We would specially draw your attention to the fact that we have four Socialist Ministers.

Together with this protest, we hail the few docker comrades, and those railwaymen, with their leader Nicaise, who refused their labour power, although they were threatened with being prosecuted, and menaced with revolvers by policemen.

We learn that some of the leaders tried to prevent the boat leaving the harbour, and were prosecuted. Anyway the boat left, the proper steps not having been taken to prevent it being loaded.

We also hail the British workers for their firm decision and proof of comradeship and International solidarity. We hope that their example will be followed by all the organised workers. We also hope that while they employ the material means for sweeping away capitalism, they will have the moral courage to accomplish that which the immortal and heroic Russian Comrades have done, viz., get rid of their capitalists, and make of Great Britain a Paradise for the workers. This naturally concerns the workers of all lands. We promise to do our share.

Hail the Third International!

Hail the World's Soviet Republic!

Communist Party of Antwerp.

THE INDUSTRIAL CRISIS.

(*Continued from page 1.*)

To the Communists.

And now, Comrades of the Communist movement; what shall be our task? Shall we assist in bringing about strikes for permanent Government control, reduction in prices, increases in wages, registration of dockers, reduction of hours of labour to absorb the unemployed, or some other patent cure-all, which may, or may not, smash the Capitalist system?

Or, on the other hand, shall we say: "That is the industrial field; we are politicians; our good wishes back you up, of course, in all your demands; individually we may assist, but as a Party we do not presume to dictate industrial policies. Moreover, we do not urge a general strike when it is actually in sight. We believe the Government has provoked it. Our only policy of action, a safer and more comfortable one, is to run Communist candidates as Labour candidates, or even in opposition to Labour candidates—some of them may get in."

No, neither of these policies shall be ours. We shall urge strikes, we shall support and endeavour to produce strikes, but our constant unswerving effort shall be to make the object of these strikes the overthrow of the Capitalist system. Our message to the workers must be: "Industrial workers, seize and operate the factories; land workers, seize and operate the land; teachers, seize and operate the schools; mothers, pay no rent. Workers of all kinds, act together and set up your Soviets."

Some comrades often say that a strike begun for any object may lead to the Communist Soviet Revolution.

It may be so, but the Communist Soviet Revolution will not happen by mere accident. It will not happen until a sufficient number of workers are determined to overthrow Capitalism, to set up Soviets, and to secure Communism.

The will of the masses may fluctuate, but in the moment when the masses seize power *those masses* will the power. To imagine otherwise is to live in a fool's paradise, and to underrate the work before us.

Our call to the workers, our constant spur to ourselves as Communists must be:

Smash the Capitalist system.

Set up the Soviets.

Build up a Communist Party that will have the power to make the British Soviet Republic a truly Communist one.

RHONDDA WORKERS' COMMITTEE.

Dear Comrade,—I have been instructed by the above Committee to write you, re its attitude toward the Communist Party, B.S.T.I. Possibly you were not aware of the existence of the above organisation, hence the reason of writing on points of information to yourself. The Rhondda Workers' Committee is undoubtedly a replica of the old Rhondda Unofficial Reform Committee, that is to say, the composition of the above is precisely the same as the old R.U.C., which simply functioned in an unofficial sense in the interests of the miners alone.

At a meeting held some weeks ago, it was decided to change the name of the old movement and replace same with the R.W.C., thereby affording all workers in other organisations in this locality an opportunity of associating themselves with the unofficial movement.

Comrade, the main purpose of my writing this letter is, that it should be clearly understood by everyone that the Rhondda Workers' Committee has *not* come into being with any view of creating opposition to your Party. We are simply a movement that shall work in a purely localised sense. And any idea of tampering with the good work of your Party has been furthermost from our minds. The fact that this form of organisation is in existence here should not debar you in your efforts to form branches of the Communist Party in the Rhondda. Therefore, should any statement re the position in the Rhondda be made at Saturday's Conference, you may be able to define to the delegates our *exact* and *correct* position. Should any statement be made that the Rhondda as a *whole* is opposed to your National movement, that would be incorrect. Believe me, there is no real feeling of antagonism towards the Communist Party here.—Tom Thomas, Secretary.

When you have read this copy of the *Dreadnought*, please pass same on to a friend, and thereby help to increase the circulation of this journal.

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Dividing Up versus Communistic Production.

By N. BUKHARIN.

We already know that the root of the evil of wars of conquest, of the oppression of the working-class, of all the savagery of capitalism, consists in the fact that the world has been farmed out by a few bourgeois cliques, organised in the form of national governments, who administer as their own property, all the good things of the earth. The property interest of the capitalist-class in the means of production—that is the "first cause" which will explain to us all the barbarism of present-day society. To take away from the rich their power by taking from them their wealth—that is the first task which the working class and the workers' party, the Communist Party, have set themselves.

Some may think that that which has been taken away from the wealthy should be, in a "God-like," just, and equal manner, divided among all, and that then all will be well. Each, according to this attitude, would have only just as much as everyone else; all would be equal, and all would be free from inequality, oppression, exploitation. Everyone will look after his own interests, having everything at his disposition, and the power of man over man will disappear by reason of this equal division, general redistribution, and allotment of wealth among the poor.

But the Communist Party does not view things this way. It holds that such an equal distribution would not be of any good or lead anywhere else than to confusion and to a re-establishment of the old regime.

And such is the case. In the first place, there are a lot of things that simply cannot be distributed. For instance, what would we do with the railroads? Suppose one should undertake to pull up the sleepers, another, the steel rails; a third, the bolts; a fourth would seize the cars for firewood; and a fifth would smash the mirrors in order to shave himself by the reflection of their fragments; and so on: it must be clear to everyone that such a division would not only not be equal, but would lead merely to an insane destruction of useful objects, which might have served many purposes. Similarly, it would be silly to divide up a single machine in this way. Suppose one man should take the driving-wheel, another the piston-rod, and other persons should take the remaining parts, the machine would cease to be a machine; it would become mere scrap-iron. And it would be similar with all complicated devices, which are more important than anything else in the prosecution of our work. Merely consider for a moment the telegraph instruments, the instruments for chemical works, etc. It is clear that only a complete fool or a downright enemy of the working-class could recommend such a division.

But such a division would not be harmful only for the above reason. Let us assume that by some miracle, some one had succeeded in dividing up, more or less equally, everything that had been taken away from the wealthy. Even then, nothing particularly useful would result. For what does such a division mean? It would mean that we should have substituted a number of small owners for a few big ones. It would not signify the abolition of private property, but the extension of it; we should have petty ownership instead of large ownership. And yet the time of petty ownership is already past. We know very well that capitalism and the big capitalists arose out of the dissentions of the petty owners with one another. If by our division we had succeeded in increasing the class of small owners, the following result would be observed: A part of them (a very large part), would on the very next day dispose of their gains in some junk-shop, and their property would in this way soon fall into the hands of the more well-to-do owners; among the others there would arise conflicts for the sale of their materials, and in these conflicts the well-to-do would get the best of the poorer. The poor would soon become still poorer, and would by this process be converted into true proletarians, while the richer would become still richer and would gradually be transformed into true capitalists. Thus, we should finally return, after some time, to that very structure of society which we have just destroyed. We should very soon find ourselves once more confronting the self-same trough of capitalistic exploitation.

The division into private (petty) property is not the ideal of the worker or of the country serf. It is an ideal of the petty shopkeeper, who is oppressed by the big shopkeeper, but who wishes to become a big shopkeeper himself. How to become "one of the bunch," by getting all he can into his possession, that is the philistine's dream. To think of others, to think of the final results of this scramble—that would be asking too much of the shopkeeper; all he wants is to feel more coins jingling in his own pocket. It is no threat to him, when you tell him that we shall simply come back to the capitalist regime; you will simply arouse his hopes that perhaps he, plain Sidor Petrov, may become a capitalist. And what harm is there in that?

But the course of the working-class ought to be, and is, quite different. The working-class is interested in such a reconstruction of society as will make a return to capitalism inconceivable. A mere dividing up will throw capitalism out by the front door, to admit it a little later through the rear entrance. The only solution of this difficulty is a fraternal (Communistic) society of workers.

Under a Communist order, all wealth will belong, not to separate persons or to separate classes, but to all society. All society will then be as one great labour-union. There will be no master over them. All will be equal workers. There will be no classes, neither capitalists who hire workers, nor workers who are hired by capitalists. All will work together, on a schedule of work carefully planned and elaborated. The Central Statistical Bureau (Bureau of Accounts), will estimate what quantities of boots, trousers, sausages, meat, wheat, flax, etc., need to be produced each year; they will calculate what number of comrades must work for this purpose in the fields, in the sausage factories, in the great tailoring establishments of the social workshops, and in this manner the necessary number of hands will be distributed to the proper places. All production will proceed on a strictly prepared, carefully tested plan, on the basis of an accurate census of all machines and instruments, of all raw materials of all the workers, at the disposal of society. Accurately the annual needs of society will be calculated. The product produced will be allotted to the social stores, from which they will be distributed through the worker-comrades. They will work only in the largest factories, at the best machines, for they save the most labour. The direction of production is the most economical—every superfluous expense is a single general plan governing all production. It is impossible that there should be any such thing as conducting business in one way in one place and in another way in another place; formerly, the right hand knew not what the left hand did. On the contrary, the new system takes a full view and census of the world: cotton will be produced only at the place where there are the most favourable conditions for its production; the production of coal will be concentrated in the largest existing mines; the iron manufactures will be established in close proximity to the coal and ore; and where there is land suitable for wheat, we sh ll not build great cities with vast houses, but will sow the grain. All, in a word, will be so distributed, as to put each form of production in the place most suited for it, where the work will proceed most smoothly, where the materials are most accessible, and where human labour will be most productive. And all this can only be realised and attained according to one single plan, with a complete unification of all society into one great labour-union.

In this Communistic society, people will not be sitting on each other's backs. There will be no rich and no fleeced, no rulers and no subjects; society will not be divided into classes, one of which rules over the others. And once there are no classes, there are no longer several kinds of people (poor and rich), some of whom are gnashing their teeth at the others, the exploiters against the exploited, the exploited against the exploiters. Therefore, there will be no such organisation as the State, for there will be no governing class which would need to keep up a special organisation for the maintenance of its privileges against its class opponents. There will be government over people, and no power of man over man; there will only be a control over things, over machines, a power of human society over nature. The human race will not be divided into hostile camps: it will be united by a common cause, the common struggle to master the forces of nature. Boundary posts are overturned and separate fatherlands annihilated. All mankind without distinction of nationality will be united in all parts, and organised in one single whole.

COMMUNISTS AND LOCAL COUNCILS OF ACTION.

By HUGH HOPE.

I think it is of vital importance that Communists as such, should seek representation in the local Councils of Action. When Comrade Whitehead argues that "the action contemplated is industrial action, the people who are going to act are industrial workers," he is merely presupposing a beautiful syndicalist dream that has no reality in our real world of capitalist domination. If the industrialists of a council were to formulate and act upon a "down tools" policy only, that would merely be a demonstration of protest against the exploiting class. In the ensuing struggle should the industrialists win, they would immediately have to decide upon an "up tools" policy, and take over the social work of administration that was formerly done by the expropriating class. It matters not that industrialists may be appointed to carry out the new duties of distribution, exchange and community welfare work. The moment they accept the appointments, they are no onger industrialists, but community workers or politicals. Communists should note clearly the difference—and there is a vast difference—between industrial (productive and distributive) and social (useful and necessary) work that is not rooted in the Trade Unions, workshop or factory, although it derives its strength therefrom.

Comrade Whitehead beclouds the issue and misinforms us when he states that "the action contemplated is industrial action," and leaves it at that. It was the making use of an industrial weapon *for a political purpose, viz.*, to stop an open war against Russia. It is self evident that the British workers wouldn't stand for conscription for another great war—they were willing to lend their industrial strength to their political Labour leaders to prevent an act that would have affected them vitally, but the momennt the danger seems passed they become apathetic. The war against Russia still goes on, but the mass mind of the workers is as callous about it as it is towards Ireland's martyrdom. While Whitehead advocates Communist abstemption from the local councils (except as industrialists), he wants to SOVIETISE THE COUNCILS OF ACTION.

If, as Communists, we accept the Russian Soviet principle, we should clearly understand that the Soviets do not exclude non-industrialists. (1) The local Soviet is made up of all useful workers, Red Army, and Peasants' Deputies. (2) The City Soviet takes its members from *a.* the factory; *b.* the Union; *c.* political parties; *d.* (with the workers' consent) individual candidates; *e.* the military. The Dictatorship of the Proletariat which is one of the conditions for membership for the Communist Party is clearly the political expression of the industrial workers. What Comrade Whitehead advocates is the very negation of Communism, Sovietism, the Communal or Community Life. It is Syndicalism pure and simple—a form of industrialism that some proletarian Anarchists who require economic backing like to flirt with. But even some of the French pioneers of this movement have come to realise that Syndicalism is not enough, that under modern conditions of life, it would be unworkable, and the Bolsheviks are urging the French Communists to fight the Syndicalists.

Communists who ignore the local Councils of Action are making a big mistake. Where are our eyes and our vision? These Councils are the nucleii of the British Soviets, which it is the bounden duty of Communists to enter and transform from Trades Councils into All Workers' Councils. In our local districts we should form Leagues and Societies and seek admission to the local council in whatever way we can. We should endeavour to get the ex-service men on the councils. It is more effective to get inside and act than to criticise from without. Criticism of the National Council is unnecessary and beside the mark. We all know that it is the creature of the Labour Party and Trade Union Officialdom. It is not a National Council. But it is up to the local councils to destroy it in the interest of the Revolution.

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OGMORE VALLEY NOTES.

By "PROLETARIUS."

Shop-Assistants.

A movement is now proceeding generally throughout South Wales, among shop-assistants, to transfer the usual half-day on Wednesday (other districts on Thursday), to that of Saturday, and a campaign is being inaugurated to bring the scheme to maturity. In the Merthyr District, some of the leading tradesmen have agreed to adopt it, commencing on October 9th. Maesteg Co-operative Society put it into practical application about five weeks ago. In the Rhondda Valley, the above method is being pursued with intense vigour. Furthermore there ought to be no opposition whatever from Co-operative Societies, who ought to favour the scheme from a recreation point of view alone. Football, tennis, and cricket matches are being more or less generally played on Saturday. As the majority of the members of the management committees are miners, who are themselves out for a six-hour day and the best conditions, let them not forget their employees who are also out to better theirs.

Co-operative Employees.

The Ogmore Valley is not behind in this matter, and a move is now being made by the employees of the "Nantvmoel Industrial Co-operative Society," who at a meeting held on Tuesday evening, September 14th unanimously decided to approach the management committee on the question of its adoption. As workers, we trust that the management committee will endeavour to make such a course possible, and assuming that the matter gets referred to a general meeting of members, we hope that the committee, who are mostly miners, will exert their influence and bring pressure to bear on the members to attain the half-day on Saturday. We are living in an enlightened age, with Socialist, Labour, and Co-operative Movements in our midst, men striving for one great ideal, therefore it is up to us as Workers to concentrate all our energy on fulfilling that ideal, namely, the "Communist State." So keep the old slogan in mind, in the words of Karl Marx:

Workers of the World, Unite. You have nothing to lose but your chains, and a World to win.

NOTES FROM THE MIDLANDS.

By FRED TYLER.

No doubt many serious questions will be discussed, at the coming annual Conference of the Communist Party in Manchester this week, and I am hoping that the delegates will meet with a feeling of unity to do things, as well as to pass the many resolutions on the agenda.

I am writing these lines after marching 200 miles through the Midlands, preaching the coming of the social-revolution to the workers in the towns, and the peasants on the land, and the masses of toilers, overtaxed and underfed, have taken the news with an enthusiasm that has been wonderful. On all hands the unemployed army grows, and the streets echo with the tramp of many feet, the unemployed army, organised, uniting for the word of action. And over the minds of the people is sweeping a single thought: "In the coming winter, what shall we do?" and the reply of the Communist must be: "Thousands are doomed to die of hunger, exposure, and misery unless we unite and smash remorselessly the system of private property." It is during a period of grave outlook for Labour that our conference is meeting; true Communist organisation has yet to be obtained; the working class, organised for wage bargaining, and it alone, is losing hands down, and its power is nearly broken. Commercial Britain, recognising that employment of the majority of the workers in industry is the surest safeguard against revolts, is driven to reduce export prices of goods to obtain any world trade, and in order to obtain it, the Capitalists are reducing wages in defiance of Trades Unions, and are doing it successfully, using the extremity of the unemployed workers as a means to that end. High wages are but a "nine days wonder," and will not be determined by the power of a Trades Union to enforce it in the coming winter, because Trades Unions can only fight the battles of the man in work, and confronted by numerous demands for a job, all employers can pay what wages they choose.

Thus, with the possible exception of the miners, low wages for the workers is almost certain.

On the other hand, there is no prospect of the reduced cost of living—in fact, the annual financial liabilities of the British Government have never been completely recovered in taxation. Should the Government place the entire cost of administration, together with interest due on debts, on the backs of the people, so enormous would the costs of goods become, that riots would follow in all parts of the country. Much of the interest payable during each period has been unpaid, building up fresh commitments for the race, in recurring interest on unpaid dues.

Such is the prospect for the workers in the near future: dear living, low wages, the failure of Trades Unions. Similar periods have occurred in history before, and the governing classes have passed through their period of dire danger of being overwhelmed by a revolution, by the employment of many methods. They have used the ignorance of the people to defeat the people, and religion often has been the soft tool of the rulers. Ideas of servility, and devout beliefs in superiors' rights, have cowed the spirit of revolt in the mind of man.

Our forefathers bore hardship with fortitude and patience, because they had no inspiration of different human relationships. The teacher had been abroad teaching his crude creed, but the idea of a common welfare, obtained by common toil by all, with the land free, and the landlord departed; a country rich with the products of labour free for all to use and enjoy, had not entered the hearts of the people. And because revolutionary ideas were but the inspiration of a tiny few, the nation passed through its trials, the noble and the capitalist remained secure.

To spread ideas of a coming change in the association of man, the coming of Communism, common welfare, and common toil, all wealth to those who produce, and the ending of misery and poverty, that is our task this winter, and according to our efforts, so shall we succeed.

WHAT TO DO ON THE INDUSTRIAL FIELD.

By E. T. WHITEHEAD.

We have stated it as our opinion, that in Britain the larger proportion of the "most advanced, the most class-conscious, and the most revolutionary workers" have chosen the industrial field for their work in the class struggle. We have also stated that in our opinion, industrial power, and industrial mass action, will play a much greater part in Britain in securing the transference of power from the capitalists to the workers, than such a power would play in the Slav and Latin countries. It becomes therefore necessary closely to examine the possibilities for useful activity open to this majority of industrial workers within the Communist Party.

1. Sovietise the Trades Unions.

Soviet principles are comparatively new to the vast majority of members of the Communist Party. Industrial workers, up to very recent times, have held the ideals of "consistent democracy" for the internal government of their working-class organisations The alternative vote and proportional representation have occupied the places of "ultimate ideals," within that system of consistent democracy. These final improvements on the system of democratic representation have found there way in many cases into Trades Union Rule Books and Constitutions. To-day these ideals and this democratic system are universally condemned by all leaders of proletarian thought in the class struggle. Instead of government by an Executive of representatives elected for a fixed period of years, it is recognised that it is better to have government by a body of delegates The principle of "liability to recall," and the principle of "delegates on the Central Governing Body to consist of one delegate from each District Council, equally liable to recall by that District Council," are universally recognised as altogether fairer, in that such principles guarantee that the governing body is always an accurate reflection of the wishes of the membership, a condition that never attached to "consistent democracy."

It is the first business then, to introduce Soviet Principles within the Rule Books and constitution of all Trade Unions and working-class organisations, so that such organisations are no longer nose-led by antiquated "permanent officials," whose class-interests are no longer those of the workers.

2. Capture the Trades Unions for Communism.

The group of Communists working within the Trades Union Branch for Communism, is the unit of power in a genuine Communist Party. It is the duty of these workers always to expound the Communist viewpoint in every changing circumstance. Such Party members should always endeavour to fill all responsible positions, for example, as Branch Secretary, Branch Chairman, Delegate to Conferences, and so on on. Finally, it is the duty of all Communists within the Trades Unions—and in Britain, in my personal opinion, 90 per cent. of all the members of the Communist Party ought to be holders of Trades Union cards—to endeavour to fill all official Union positions by Communists—Trades Union Secretaries, Executive Posts, Organisers' positions, and so on.

3. Capture the Trades Union Parliament.

At Portsmouth, recently, no less than six and a half million workers were represented at the Trades Union Congress. The class interests of each of those six and a half million workers places them as potential members of a Communist Party. No persons were represented at Portsmouth except those having proletarian class interests. It is that "Parliament" which the Communists should dominate and should capture. The Communist Party, when it is strong enough to carry the day for Communism, will be strong enough to ensure that every delegate on the floor of the Trades Union Congress is a Communist, a Party Member, and working to use the industrial power there centred, for Communist ends.

4. Equal Wages for Workers and Leaders.

This is not reformism, neither is it a palliative. We do not want to reduce the Trades Union leaders' wage to the exact level of that of the worker in order to better his position. The object of this tactics is twofold. Firstly, in that it is in accord with Communist principle, that all should share equally in material things. Secondly, and much more important, that knowing that the class outlook and class interests of a man are a reflex of his income and his way of earning it, knowing that a Labour leader with a middle-class wage unconsciously adopts middle-class conservatism, middle-class respectability—we aim at retaining the class-interests of the leader precisely the same as the class interests of the worker, so that the whole Trade Union membership, leaders and workers, have homogenous class interests. The reflex of these homogeneous class interests, is SOLIDARITY, and it is the only way solidarity is ever obtained. Solidarity is an effect and not a cause. The Solidarity in the Trades Unions themselves, the brotherhood and fraternity manifested, is a reflex of the equal wage for the members. All bricklayers get the same wage. Very well, then they are not concerned in cutting each other's throats. They are specially concerned in uniform action to improve the whole status of their calling.

5. Equal Wages for All Workers.

This is not reformism, neither is it a palliative. As before it is merely a tactics, and to my mind, a most valuable one. Its object is to secure that solidarity of interest throughout the whole of the working-class, so that Mass Action can more easily be attained. Instead of the dockers striking first, then the railwaymen, then the miners, and then some other section, under the equal wage, it would be possible to have united action by all sections together.

Comrade Guy Aldred has expresed the opinion to me that the equal wage is reformist and palliative. That aspect of it is of no importance whatever. It would equally suit the Communist purpose if the wage were equalised *down* to the lowest paid worker instead of *up* to the highest paid worker. In each case, solidarity would be the result.

The whole question on this field, expressed in a nutshell, is as follows:—

1. *A man's class-interests and class-outlook are an exact reflex of his income and his manner of getting it.*
2. *Class Solidarity on the political field, will be a reflex of economical equality on the industrial field.*
3. *Universal fellowship, brotherhood, the abolition of self-interest and greed in the heart of man, will be results accruing from economic equality for all, the fruits of Communism.*

To sum up then, a Communist Party, for a highly skilled country like Britain, will, in my opinion, have the vast preponderance of its membership on the industrial field.

The Shop Stewards' Movement, the Miners' Unofficial Reform Movement, the Workers' Committee Movement, the Rank and File Movement Within the Unions and the Vigilance Committees—all these activities are the work of the most advanced, most class-conscious, and most revolutionary section of the workers. Every worker behind one of these movements *ought* to be in a genuine Communist Party. Unless these men are within a Communist Party, such a Party is not a genuine Communist Party, and will be unable to secure class emancipation and win out to the Overthrow of Capitalism. Each of these activities ought to be part and parcel of the work of a genuine Communist Party: every one of these movements ought to be completely absorbed within one united Communist Party, and directed by it.

And now for a real Communist Party.

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Extracts From Last Week's Post-Bag.

The propaganda and organising sub-committee decided that a rigid discipline be initiated into the Poplar Branch. The old lax method of leaving everything to be done to those with initiative is to go by the board. Members in future will be instructed in the work they are expected to accomplish. Owing to the failure of most speakers to keep appointments, it was decided to promote other speakers within the Branch, so that it will be possible for us to extend the field of our outdoor meetings. Poplar has been rather the Rip Van Winkle of the Party in the past, but members intend to have other branches looking to their laurels in the near future."—J. R. O'Sullivan.

* * * * *

"Birmingham Branch has decided on propaganda every Friday and Sunday evenings at the Bull Ring. We have four branch speakers, and sell two quires of "Dreadnoughts." We should welcome any Communist speakers who can call and assist the branch. We have an Hotel Ritz always ready, etc."—R. V. Harvey.

SOUTH WALES FOR COMMUNISM.

National Secretary's Visit.

On Saturday, September 18th, at 2.30 p.m., a conference of South Wales Communists was held in the Labour Hall, Charles Street, Cardiff. Comrade Tom Watkins was elected to the chair. In his opening remarks he emphasised the need of British Communists hammering out among themselves the Communist tactics for Britain in the class struggle.

The Secretary of the Communist Party, B.S.T.I., Edgar T. Whitehead, made a detailed statement touching on the present position of Communist organisation in Britain, the position with regard to the Moscow International, and the functions of a real Communist Party. After discussion, it was unanimously resolved: "That we definitely resolve to form a Communist Party for South Wales, based on the seven cardinal points:—

1. The complete overthrow of Capitalism and the establishment of Communism.
2. The class truggle.
3. The dictatorship of the proletariat.
4. The Soviet or Revolutionary Workers' Council system.
5. Affiliation to the Third International.
6. Refusal to engage in Parliamentary action.
7. Non-affiliation to the Labour Party.

A small organising committee was elected, with instructions to call a further conference in two weeks' time.

Comrade T. Watkins was instructed to be present at the Manchester Conference on behalf of those present, and to report back to the subsequent conference.

Dr. A. H. Bright, of Bristol, who was present, asked that Bristol should be linked up with South Wales as a Divisional Area for a National Communist Party, and this was agreed to.

This Conference made it very clear that South Wales was solid for the seven principles of the B.S.T.I. without the slightest deviation, and that South Wales is going to tackle the problem of uniting all genuine proletarian elements for Communism.

Reply to Comrade Meacham.

Comrade Meacham asks me what I mean by advocating equal wages for workers and leaders, and equal pay for men and women. It is quite true to say that Communism ultimately stands for the abolition of the wages system—this is quite clearly stated on the first page of the Provisional Party Programme. This abolition of the wages system is, however, an ultimate end, and not one that can by any possible means be attained in one jump or without a transitional period of the Communist State and the dictatorship of the workers. And in that transitional period it is again quite clearly stated in the Party programme that "until the wages system has been abolished, wages shall be equal for all industries and professions, and for all adult men and women in each industry and profession from the principal manager downwards."

There are, however, two very clear and separate reasons why Communists should work towards the equal wage. The first is that the equal wage stands as the symbol of the equal labour task and the equal labour reward, the equal sharing of necessary toil for the common good, and the equal sharing in material benefits in exchange for the equal effort. The second reason is the more important, and that is that the equal wage leads to that initial class solidarity that has to be gained first of all if mass action is to be successful in defeating capitalism. "Class" is primarily determined by "income," and

(Continued at foot of last column.)

COMMUNIST PARTY

British Section of the Third International.

CONDITIONS OF MEMBERSHIP.—The acceptance of the following points: (1) The complete overthrow of Capitalism and the establishment of Communism. (2) The Class struggle. (3) The Dictatorship of the Proletariat. (4) The Soviet or Revolutionary Workers' Council system. (5) Affiliation to the Third International. (6) Refusal to engage in Parliamentary Action. (7) Non-affiliation to the Labour Party.

MINIMUM WEEKLY SUBSCRIPTION: Threepence. Entry Fee: One Shilling.

Provisional Secretary: EDGAR T. WHITEHEAD, 8, Sinclair Gardens, West Kensington, London, W.14.

Branches' notes and list of meetings, sent in for publication, should reach the Secretary not later than first post Thursday morning.—All articles and news matter (other than Branches' notes) to be sent to: 400, Old Ford Road, Bow, London, E.3. and marked: "The Editor, The Workers' Dreadnought."

The "WORKERS' DREADNOUGHT" may be obtained for sale at 3/-per quire (26 copies). Usual Trade rates for wholesale and retail newsagents.

All Members should make a special effort to see that our paper is on sale and posters displayed at local newsagents, trade union branches, in the workshop and at all public meetings in their districts.

BRANCH NOTES.

Poplar.

Reports that an organising and propaganda sub-committee of five has been formed for the Branch. The Branch has also decided to put into force the house-to-house Soviet tactics as practised by the Manchester Branch.

Camberwell.

This Branch also reports that it has decided to adopt the tactics of house-to-house visits. The members of the Branch wish all branches to organise literature selling on the lines of Camberwell. In the last quarter, more than £40 of literature has been sold by Branch members, "Dreadnoughts" alone sometimes exceeding three hundred weekly.

Comrade J. R. O'Sullivan made a fine beginning to our Peckham Rye Sunday meetings; and a debate was arranged between him and a local T.U. orator for Sunday, September 26th, at 11 a.m., on "Will the Labour Party be of service to the working-class in the interim before Socialism?"

APPEAL.

Almost as soon as this appeal appears, the Inaugural Conference will be sitting, and as an outcome plans for work will be made. There is no need to urge that there exists a great field for Communist activity—work. Unfortunately, funds are needed to ensure that future work is carried through. The Communist Party also urgently needs funds for the payment of past or current expenses. Those whom this appeal affects are requested to send donations to:

PERCY WALLIS: *Hon. Treasurer.*

18, Angel Road, Hammersmith, W.6.

Hammersmith.

The Branch has decided to hold weekly indoor meetings now winter is coming on, in addition to the propaganda meetings. These will be held Monday evenings at the Labour Rooms, 156, Goldhawk Road, Shepherd's Bush, W.12, at 8 p.m. All comrades and Communist sympathisers invited. Branch Secretary: Comrade H. Biske, 22, Rockley Road, Hammersmith, W.6.

New Branch: Stepney.

A new branch has been formed for the Stepney District, starting off with a nucleus of close on thirty members. The Secretary is Comrade Alf. B. Cohen, 30, Laleham Buildings, Bethnal Green, E.2. Meeting Thursday, March 23rd, at 8.30 p.m., at the International Socialist Club. Following meetings every Wednesday at Bancroft Road Library, Stepney, at 8 p.m.

Letchworth and Baldock, Herts.

Comrade John H. Tait, 23, White Horse Street, Baldock, Herts, wishes to hear from all Communists in the area so as to start a nucleus for Communism.

Gorton.

Lectures and discussions held every Sunday evening at 7.30, at Gore Brook Hall, William Street, Gorton, Manchester. All Communists and sympathisers invited.

GRATEFULLY ACKNOWLEDGED.

Porth Comrades, £3 4s; A. Carford, 3s.; Poplar Comrades, 5s; E. and C. Paul, 1s; G. W. Aird, £1; Bow Comrades, 19s 6d; Barking Comrades, 15s; E. Stevenson, 4s; Per E. Stevenson, 4s; W. L. Wintle, 5s; Aram Daniels, 10s.

LONDON MEETINGS: OUTDOOR.

Whitechapel.
Osborne Street, Sunday, 26th, at 11.45 a.m.

Poplar.
Dock Gates. Sundays, at 7 p.m. Mrs. Walker.

Camberwell.
Grove Lane. Fridays, at 7.30.
Hanover Park, Rye Lane. Saturday, at 7.30. J. Nicholson.

Peckham.
Peckham Rye. Sunday, September 26th, 11 a.m. Debate: "Will the Labour Party be of service to the working-class in the interim before Socialism?" J. Nicholson *v.* a Trades Unionist.

Soho.
The Broadway, Golden Square. Every Thursday at 7.30 p.m. Comrades Cornwallis and Davidson in charge.

Hammersmith.
The Grove. Every Thursday at 8 p.m.

Willesden.
Manor Park Road, near Willesden Junction Station. Every Friday at 7.30 p.m.

Bow.
St. Stephen's Road. Every Saturday at 6.30 p.m. Mrs. Walker.

Birmingham.
Bull Ring. Every Friday at 7.30. Every Sunday at 7 p.m.

INDOOR BRANCH MEETINGS.

City of London.
International Socialist Club, 28, East Road, City Road, N.1. Study Circle every Wednesday at 8 p.m. All interested are invited.
International Socialist Club, 28, East Road, City Road, N.1. Every Friday at 8 p.m. Secretary: S. Ginsburg, c/o I.S.C.

Soho International.
58, Old Compton Street, Soho, W. Every Wednesday at 8.30 p.m. prompt.

Bow.
400, Old Ford Road. Every Thursday at 7.30 p.m.

Poplar.
20, Railway Street. Every Thursday at 8 p.m.

Camberwell.
16, Peckham Road, Mondays, at 7.45 p.m.

Hull.
Argyle House, Aulaly Road. Every Wednesday night at 8 p.m.

Hammersmith.
Labour Rooms, 154, Goldhawk Road, Shepherds Bush. Every Monday at 8 p.m. All Party members and inquirers welcome.

Stepney.
International Socialist Club. Thursday, 23rd September, at 8.30 p.m. Following this, every Wednesday, commencing 29th September, at Bancroft Road Library, Stepney, at 8 p.m.

To All London Comrades.

THE PARTY WOULD WELCOME THE PRACTICE OF COMRADES VISITING EACH OTHER AT BRANCH MEETINGS AND TAKING PART IN THE DISCUSSIONS AND BUSINESS. IT IS ONLY IN THIS WAY WE CAN GET THAT EXCHANGE OF VIEWS AND IDEAS AND BECOME THAT UNITED FAMILY THAT A COMMUNIST PARTY SHOULD BE. ALL COMRADES ARE ASKED TO WATCH THE LIST OF ALL MEETINGS, BOTH INDOOR AND OUTDOOR, AND AS OFTEN AS POSSIBLE VISIT AND ASSIST OTHER DISTRICTS. E.T.W.

for the workers that means it is determined by "wage." While the class of the workers is split up into a dozen sub-classes by differentiations of wage, and hence class interests split up into a dozen different sub-class interests, homogeneous class-action cannot be anticipated. In a society where all citizens are in receipt of equal economic remuneration, there would exist only one class and only one class interest. The path of development lies in the change over from the old ideal of individual well-being to the ideal of collective well-being. This latter can only be mobilised by a rigid application of "economic equality." It is that stage we wish to reach first. E.T.W.

Please fill in, and either hand to your local Branch Secretary, or post direct to EDGAR T. WHITEHEAD, Provisional Secretary of the Communist Party, 8, Sinclair Gardens, London, W. 14.

I wish to join the Communist Party, British Section of the Third International, and declare my adherence to the seven main principles of the Party.

Name .....

Address .....

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